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requirements or by religious observances. They do much to break the monotony and to provide a change.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES AND UTENSILS. Beds and cots are seldom, if ever, found in Kol houses. Those who dwell near cities, or work in the industrial centres sometimes own a cheap rope cot called a *khatiya*. The head man of the village may own a cot or two, and when one visits a village, this is often brought for the European guest to sit upon. The usual place for sleep is the mud floor of the dwelling. A blanket or mat may be all that is underneath, while in the hot weather not even this is availed of. Pillows are not used, but if it should be desired that the head be raised, it is probable that a small wooden stool a few inches high will be employed.

KHATIYA

Fig. 5

Chairs, tables and the like, are never found. Anything that must be put away and cannot be hung over the rafters or the bamboo poles stretched across the walls is placed in a wooden chest. One usually finds some kind of a small box about the place which is locked. Valuables, however, are usually buried in a hole in the floor and the same completely *lepoed* to hide all trace of the spot.

The main articles in the house are those connected with food and drink. Gourd vessels are occasionally used as receptacles for storing water, but more commonly such vessels are made of earthenware or brass. Kols do not make either of these. The earthen vessels may be purchased cheaply in the bazaar from people of the Kumhar caste—the traditional potters. Food is also stored in them and in one of the Kol sub-divisions, the *Kurhas*, food should only be taken from a particular type of black earthenware dish. As a rule the various kinds of earthenware vessels are being replaced all over village India by those made of brass and aluminium.

The stone implements are the grindstone and the *sil*. The former consists usually of two pieces of round stone, although the bottom stone may be squarish. The upper stone, which is slightly smaller, is about 16" in diameter. It has a peg for a handle by which it is rotated. There is also a hole into which the grain is poured, though often the stone is simply lifted and the grain spread out over

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include, fish, goat, chicken, hare, mutton, buck, and even pork. Apparently carrion is never eaten. The flesh of the deer may be eaten but not that of the tiger. The villager is an adept at preparing vegetables for his curries, and throughout the year depends largely upon the following according to the seasons: *sags* of various kinds; egg plants; pumpkins and gourds; okra; potatoes, both ordinary and sweet; onions; roots of various plants; and corn on the cob roasted until it is brown.

The community feast, or feasts, given to a relatively large group on special occasions, are things which help to break the monotony of diet. Community feasts are usually paid for out of the proceeds of fines levied by the *panch*. An individual also may give a feast as a thank-offering, or at child-birth, at the time of a wedding, or at death. One of the favourite foods is said to be a preparation described below known as *bara*, and is served at every feast. If some social event should make a feast obligatory, and if the person concerned should fail to provide the expected meal, the *panch* brings pressure upon him to do so. If he still fails, the person is boycotted for a period. The usual menu at such a feast includes rice and *chapatis*, pulse, vegetable curry, *chatni*, *bara* and if they can be afforded, meats of various kinds. Kols drink milk when it is available and apparently do not feel that all milk should be kept for the calf, as some Munda tribes believe. Milk is also used in the preparation of certain special foods, such as *khir*, which is used for the child's first feeding. See below.

Foods are usually divided into two classes: *pakka* and *kachha*. The former kind is cooked in *ghi* or *ghi* is used in its preparation, and the latter is simply cooked with water. *Ghi*, like other products from the sacred cow, protects from impurity. While caste Hindus have numerous restrictions in connection with this classification, the Kols do not seem to be particular in this regard. They will take food cooked by "clean" Hindu castes, but never from those castes which they consider below them, such as Chamars, Mahars, Dhobis, Basors, and Doms. Nowhere Kols seemed to be starved nor emaciated. Apparently, they have enough to keep them in fairly good health, though not in abundance. We did not find stout people among them.

The main food-stuffs are listed below. In an average Kol house all of these are probably not found at any one time, but they are those used when available:

Grains: Wheat, rice, millet (in northern areas).

Pulses: Black pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*). Red and yellow types (*Cajanus indicus* and *Dolichos lablab*).

Oils: Mustard oil usually from *Guizotia abyssinica*. Sweet oil or

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poured over the mother who is now considered as perfectly clean—able to take her full place in society again. That night there is a feast for the women folk only, called *bilui*. Special foods prepared with *haldi* and *ghi* are partaken of, there is singing and dancing following the feast and the whole ceremony usually lasts all night. If a feast is impossible raw sugar (*gur*) is distributed among the singers. The whole procedure

Fig. 18

is usually called *chhatthi*, or sixth day ceremony and signifies the removal of uncleanness. In Rewa we were told that at this time Dulha Baba, who is often regarded as a household god, should be worshipped. Certain drawings are put upon the walls of the houses at this time. They

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vary considerably, but the accompanying text figure 18, shows a form that was found by us. 846 [531]

During the time the woman is confined to the house the man goes about his work just the same and no trace of the couvade has been found. If it can be managed, on the twelfth day after birth there is further rejoicing with a family feast. [574]

CHILDHOOD RITES. *Naming the Child.* Amongst the Kols of Central India the giving of the name, so important in some primitive cultures, does not seem to hold a place of any great significance. Of course certain things as noted below are done, but no trace was found of any magical rites used in the selection of names, such as Roy describes in the case of the Oraons and the Kharias.[1] There is no fixed time within which the name must be given. Under more primitive conditions we have found that often no ceremony whatsoever was in use, and when a name was given the Brahmin priest was not called in. While there is no set time for the giving of the name it is generally preferred that it be given from ten to fifteen days after birth. The proposed name may be discussed in the family before hand, and actually given to the child by one of its parents or near relatives, a friend, or even a stranger. In the latter instance we were told on two occasions that should a *chaudhari* Chamar happen to pass through the village at a propitious time he might be requested to name the child. At the time of the bestowal of the name, in the case where the family selects the name itself, the child is taken into the arms of the person giving the name who then formally announces it to those present. Until such a name is given the child is called by a pet name, *dadu* for the boy and *butu* for the girl. In Kotmi, near the borders of Rewa State, the village priest, the Kol *panda*, gives the child a name and receives four pice for this act. At the same time, being the official vaccinator, he vaccinates the child against small pox: it is a crude vaccination, but in this way the Government is able to provide some protection from the disease. 553 [564] [751]

Among the more Hinduized Kols use is made of the Brahmin priest. He is called upon to select the child's name and does this from a list of names in his possession which are considered auspicious for children born at certain seasons. He is paid from one to four annas for this performance. It is common to find names derived from days of the week, and Monday and Tuesday, *Somvara* and *Mangalbara* are said to be the best; the child is never named after Saturday. Again, the name of the month may be used, as in the case of the name Phagu, 553 177 [793] 553.

1 Roy, S. C., *Oraon Religion and Customs*, p. 129; *The Kharias*, pp. 209 ff.

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that the child is a girl and let him alone, for it is boys that they really 302
try to get hold of.

Hair from the first cutting should never be thoughtlessly thrown [826]
out on the ground. The best thing to do is to wrap it in a small piece of cloth and take it to the Nerbudda River where it is thrown in as an offering. No special trip to the river is required and the hair may be kept in the house until some convenient season or until some friend or relative happens to be going that way. The belief that magic may be [754] worked with hair is prevalent in India, but Kols do not seem to fear this danger, nor do they believe that another may work harm by possessing it.

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FIRST FEEDING: *Pasni*. Most Kols attach considerable im- 853
portance to the child's first feeding with solid food. This should be done 862
when the child is about six months old. One group said that the feeding should be done at five months in the case of a girl and six [177] months for a boy. This indicates Hindu influences.

The family invites as many of the child's relatives as they can 852
afford to feed for a general feast following the ceremony. The child 853
is to be fed with sweetened *khir*—rice boiled in milk—which has been 862
specially prepared for this occasion. A portion of *khir* is placed in a 574
small cup made from the leaves of the mango tree (*Mangifera indica*). As the ceremony begins, the friends and relatives wash their hands [515] with water specially brought for them; the child's teeth, if in, are cleaned by being lightly brushed with a mango twig. The person who breaks the child's "fast", and this may be one of a number of relatives, [602] among whom we find mentioned the name of the father, mother and father's sister (*phuphu*), first dips the index finger of the right hand into the *khir* and brings a portion up to the child's mouth but does not actually touch its lips, for the finger is immediately withdrawn. This movement is made six times, but on the seventh occasion the finger is put into the child's mouth and with it a bit of the *khir* is inserted. Others present follow in the same way until all have fed the infant. Each one who thus feeds the child is supposed to drop into a dish beside it some money, the amount varying according to circumstances: it ought not to be less than four pice and may be as much as eight annas. The money thus collected is used to buy silver bangles for the child.

Sometimes the child is fed with a silver coin rather than by the plain finger. This may be an influence of Hinduism. One group said the silver coin must be either a four or eight anna piece. The coin used is dipped into the *khir* and the baby fed on the seventh approach as in the above description. The *phuphu* receives the coins by which

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852 853 862 874 the child is fed and the money is used to buy an ornament. When groups using the finger were asked about using the coin, they said that it should not be done as the coin was not clean. Another group used a mango leaf instead of the finger. In Rewa State one group stated that just before the feeding of the child the mother should take it before the household deity, naming Bhanmati in this case, and bowing down before her ask the *devi* to protect the child, the household, and the children yet to come.

304 [326] NOSE AND EAR PIERCING. The piercing of the nose and ears is usually done by a *sonar* (goldsmith), although Kols may do it themselves. The hole is generally made by simply forcing the ends of the ring through the lobe in the ear, but for the nose a bronze instrument is used. As far as could be ascertained no ceremony is performed at the time nor does the *sonar* repeat any *mantras*. The best time to have piercing done is at the time of some large *mela* (religious gathering) in the vicinity, for then there are plenty of *sonars* on hand awaiting work. [757] When the nose is pierced a small plug of wood is first inserted, but the earrings are allowed from the beginning. The wound has onion and [465] turmeric rubbed into it, which help it to heal. The *sonar* is given a seer of rice, some chillis and a little salt, or may be paid four pice for the piercing and paid extra for the rings according to their value. It has already been noted that the Kathautiyas use woodpith to enlarge the holes in their ears and as a result their lobes have larger holes. [301] Kols about Jubbulpore claimed that in Rewa every Kol woman should have a ring of gold and silver on her ears or nose. Our observations however did not confirm this claim.

789 [30] 824 Earrings help to protect the child from evil. Other things as well ward off evil influences and we found that the *retha* nut (*Sapindus mukorossi*) and half a *ghata* nut (*Ziziphyus xylopyrus* (?)) are put into a strip of cloth, tied in a knot and worn round the neck. This is considered a good protection from *nazar*, the evil eye, but it does not help in the case of *bhuts*. Black bangles on the wrists and a white *pot* (dab) [776] just in front of the ears also protect from the evil eye. A copper ring may be put on one of the ankles for any evil spirit attacking the child will become imprisoned in this. Good spirits live in amulets about the neck and drive off *bhuts*. At other times a piece of a broken or [826] discarded human tooth, tied on a string about the wrist, is considered an effective protection. A strip of coloured cloth, red and yellow being preferred, may also be tied somewhere about the child's person. These are some of the measures which may be taken to protect the young child during the early months and years of life. Other instances

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342 many rooms and consequently they cannot maintain strict decency in living with their wives when the children grow up."[1] But the phenomenon is too widespread and is linked with too many factors [504] to really bear this explanation. The house for the boys is as a rule the village guest house as well and at its centre there is a pole which is sometimes carved and differs in this respect only from other homes. The girls usually sleep with an elderly widow in another portion of the [513] village. In some places it is reported that the boys and girls sleep together huddled "higgledy-piggledy."[2] We found no trace of these conditions among the Kols, though they may exist among those who live in close contact with other tribes who practice such customs. When Kols were asked how they managed to get along with one room and many children they replied that somehow they could tuck them all in. The absence of separate quarters strengthens the family tie [593 182] and helps to make it a more stable and important unit. There was also no trace of sexual segregation, such as the separating of the husband and the wife, which would also tend to weaken the family.

1 Majumdar, B. C., *The Aborigines of Central India*, p. 80.
2 *Census of India*, 1931, xiii, i, p. 413.

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584 (a) *Negotiations.* If the girl's father, after enquiries, is fully satisfied the matter becomes one of real concern. The boy's father is informed of this and a day is set for him and his party of men (the boy and the women do not go and have no formal part) to go to the girl's house and start actual negotiations for the wedding since the matter is now no longer a secret. On the way to the girl's house this party 584 must be sure to take note of good or bad omens. If the latter are 787 frequent they may turn back and decide on a new start at a later hour or even on another day, if the omens have been particularly bad. To pass four people seated together is a good omen and to meet a Hindu *pandit* is another. But to meet a person with an empty vessel is a bad omen, as is also a meeting with a *teli* (oilman). A jackal about [825] to cross the road is a dangerous omen and one should make every attempt to head him off and to stop him from actually crossing the road. If it should occur, the best thing to do under the circumstances is to take a thorny branch, place it in the centre of the road at the point where the jackal crossed, put a heavy stone on top of the branch, and [789] with one foot planted on this stone roundly curse the beast. This will ward off the evil and save the person concerned from disaster.

It was noted that the groom-to-be does not accompany this party 584 nor does any female member of his family go to see the girl. The 574 party of men must take with them certain things, among them *dahi* (curds) kept in a new *markì* (earthenware vessel) which has been nicely whitewashed on the outside and has yellow symbols superimposed. The top is sealed with leaves and securely tied for it is eventually to be presented to the girl's father. They should also take *haldi* (turmeric, *Curcuma longa*) and *sendur* (vermilion). When the party arrives at the girl's village they are warmly greeted and brought to the house where the matter is formally discussed and much of the ground previously gone over privately is now publicly repeated. After a formal agreement has been reached by both parties the girl's father should ceremonially wash the feet of the boy's father, but another may do this if the father is unable to do so or is dead. This is a witness to 584 the fact that the matter is now settled and that the match is arranged. The boy's father should at this time make payment of the first in- 583 stalment of the price agreed upon in their discussions. The figure differs according to locality and is not uniform. It is divided into two parts, the first is paid on this visit and the balance just before the *sadi*. The following figures are typical, the first figure being the first payment: Rs. 8 and 4; 10-8-0 and 5-4-0; 9 and 4-8-0. The larger amount is paid first and half of it later. At Benda village it was claimed that there was no bargaining and that the price was fixed at

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For a *lagan* such as the above the *pandit* is paid an amount which varies according to the section of the country. Near Jubbulpore he is said to receive Rs. 1-4-0; in Rewa State it was from Re. 1 to Rs. 1-8-0; in the Kaimur hills annas eight. This is paid by the boy's father who takes the *lagan* to his village where it is read to all who are interested so that they may come to know about the arrangements. It is common to promise the *pandit* a fee for the performing of the ceremonies in connection with the forthcoming wedding. This fee is generally said to be about three rupees and must be paid before the Brahmin will come and begin his work at the expected time. Occasionally there is bargaining between the two, and if the *pandit* thinks that the boy's father can pay more he holds out or compromises for a larger sum. We were told that should the two disagree no marriage is possible until a settlement has been reached, as they cannot ask a Brahmin other than the one who has jurisdiction over the girl's village to perform the ceremonies. A settlement is usually reached before long and the rest of the night is spent in eating, singing and dancing, the women of the girl's house providing for this entertainment. During the meal time the *marki* containing the curds is opened by the girl's father and is shared by both the parties.

In the morning the *pandit* is expected to deliver the *lagan*, which he has prepared the night before. He had to make certain enquiries and consult his books in order to prepare a proper one. Before he arrives with it, preparations are made to receive him. The place where he will sit to read the *lagan* is plastered and in the centre is placed a brass *lota* filled with water, into which two-pice coins have been dropped, and on top of which is set an earthenware *dip* or lamp. The Brahmin may come with the *lagan* already prepared, or he may write it off from memory then and there in their presence. He then reads it to the two parties and gives them any other advice he thinks necessary.

The boy's party usually stays the rest of the day and another night, leaving for their village on the third morning.

The priest is ordinarily used in the later *sadi* which will be performed according to the time set in the *lagan*, but in Maihar State we were informed that after the writing of the *lagan* by the Brahmin he may be dispensed with and the work which he ordinarily would do may be performed by the *bahnoi* (a sister's husband) or the *phupha* (father's sister's husband).

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On the third morning preparations are made by the bridegroom's party to return to their own village. The girl's mother, with other female members of the family or relatives in the village, prepares the

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yellow *haldi* water and keeps it in a number of *lotas*. As the guests are about to depart the women appear with the *haldi* water and *kajra* (lamp-black), the latter being in the form of a paste. The yellow water is sprinkled over the departing guests and the lamp-black is applied just below the eyes. This is considered auspicious and both are believed to have a protective significance. In jest the *kajra* is sometimes applied to other parts of the face and hearty laughs and ridicule result, all of which the party must bear cheerfully. The girl's mother should sprinkle the *haldi* water on the boy's father and after she has done this and put the colour below his eyes she holds her brass *lota* before him and he is expected to drop some money into it—at least one rupee. The rest of the men are then sprinkled by the other women and are also asked to give a gift, but not as much as the father gave. The women then courteously salute and go off taking with them the *lotas* containing the coins.

For a brief time the men of the two parties remain seated together, eat *pan supari* and pass around the *hukka* for a smoke. Finally the boy's party gets up and all go to the edge of the village together where they embrace and separate. This ends the first part of the wedding cycle.

(2) *Domestic Preparations.* The time that is to elapse between the writing of the *lagan* and the *sadi* is fixed by the *lagan* itself and depends on several factors of an astrological nature. Usually there is less than a month between them. During this period there are active preparations in both houses as certain important things must be accomplished.

In the girl's village some uncooked rice coloured with *haldi* is taken around by members of the family and given to those who are to be invited to the ceremonies. With the rice the time and place of the ceremonies are made known. There should be plenty of supplies of food on hand and among the things listed there should be *sendur*, a *dauri* (small basket), new clothes, cash for small gifts and payments, rice, pulse, especially *urad* pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*) and wheat.

(a) *Mangarmati.* The *mangarmati* or *magarmati* is a ceremony whereby a certain amount of earth is obtained from which *chulhas*, or earthen fireplaces, are to be constructed. This ceremony, which is performed at both homes and on the same night, is essentially alike in both the houses and must be performed after sunset. Only the women take part in the gathering of the sacred earth, but we were allowed to watch a *mangarmati* ceremony in the Kaimur hills. It was found that a portion of the courtyard just in front of the house had

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a circle and all the time sang and beat time with their hands, the Chamar accompanying them with his drum. Several of the women took part in the digging of the earth and each girl was allowed but one blow with the pick. The earth thus displaced was gathered up with the mattock and put into the baskets. It was estimated that about thirty pounds were actually brought. The group then returned to the courtyard as slowly as they went but in the reverse order, with the lamp at the rear. The earth was then thrown in the centre of a small raised platform called the *mandil*, though occasionally the *mandil* is made later on from the earth brought in at this time. After the baskets were emptied the women brought water in small earthenware vessels and each threw water on the pile of earth until it was thoroughly soaked. The women then went to another part of the courtyard where each had left a bit of wheat which they brought from their homes when they first came. This was piled at another point and as each presented her wheat the mother dipped a bit of sweet oil from her household oil-jug and gave it to the other women. After this a small cone of cowdung, which is worshipped by unmarried girls, was set up on the *mandil*. See Figure 19. [237 778 589]

This earth should be sufficient to make either five or seven *chulhas* and they should be prepared sometime during that night. In Deosori they said that it would be done in the morning, and as it is done only by the women of the household it is likely that it was done after the people had departed. The party broke up at this point and from twenty to twenty-five women and young girls departed. This happened at 9 P.M. Occasionally there is a feast following the *mangarmati*, but there was none in this particular case. [574]

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The next day the *chulhas* constructed from this earth should be ready for the preparation of the *lawa*, a mixture of parched paddy and millet, which is considered an indispensable part of the wedding preparations. During the time of its preparation there is joking and fooling. Before they can start to parch the rice one of the male members brings a young chicken and thrusts it into the lighted *chulha*. If the chicken does not catch fire and die (that is, if the *chulha* is not hot enough) it becomes the property of the male relative, but if it dies the women take it and make it into a curry. If the chicken catches fire no effort is made to save it. The parching of rice may now begin and this should be initiated by the man who brought the chicken. The same *chulha* which was used for the burning of the chicken should not be used for the subsequent parching. As the man commences his work some of his female relatives approach him and do all they can to disturb his work and irritate him. They may throw mud at him, abuse [231] [578]

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584 252 [578] him verbally (give *gali*), take all kinds of liberties with him and try their best to make him lose his temper. He is supposed to take no notice of this but to remain calmly at his work. After the *lawa* is prepared (the man does not prepare all that is required) it is put into [530] a new *ghara* decorated with pictures representing females. Sometimes other articles are also put into the *ghara* –uncooked rice, bits of *supari* nut, *haldi* and two-pice coins. When prepared at the bride-groom's house the *lawa* is kept to be taken with the boy's party on their trip to the girl's village for the *sadi* and is there mixed with the *lawa* prepared in the girl's house for use at the time of the wedding. The preparation of the *lawa*, which is made a day or two before the group [574 626 578] leaves for the wedding, is made the occasion for the reconciliation of estranged relatives within the village and the consequent restoration of friendship. This reconciliation may also be extended to any member of the *kurhi* with whom there have been unhappy relations.

584 349 (*b*) *Marriage Booth: Marhwa.* In the meantime there has been far more to do at the girl's house where the actual wedding is to take place, for the wedding booth (*marhwa* or *mandap*) must be constructed there. This is usually set up in the courtyard immediately in front of the girl's house. In the booth the essentials of the marriage ceremony are performed and the sacred pole is fixed at its centre. Male relatives of the bridegroom help to build it, but women must have nothing to do with its construction. Before the men who come to work can actually start operations the bridegroom must have his body [302 602] rubbed with *til* oil mixed with *haldi*. The anointing should be done by his sister or another close female relative and he should then be 593 dressed in clothes which have been dipped in *haldi* water. The construction of the *marhwa* may now begin.

584 349 824 The *marhwa* is constructed of prescribed kinds of wood. Its size varies, but is usually about eight feet square and six to seven feet high. Nine poles are used in its construction, including the central post, called the *magrohan*, which however does not reach up to the roof. *Saleh* (*Boswellia serrata*) is the most favoured kind of wood and if procurable is preferred, both for the framework of the booth and for the sacred pole at its centre. The eight remaining poles are arranged so that there are three on a side. Text figure 21 will make this clear.[1] If *saleh* wood is not available, *gular* (*Ficus glomerata*), *sal* (*Shorea robusta*), *char* (*Buchanania latifola*) or even bamboo are permissible. The central post, however, must be of *saleh* wood and they search far and wide until they have found it. The leaves of the banana plant are tied to each of the eight poles and over the top. The

[1] [on p. 86. – Analyst]

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(3) *The Wedding Ceremony. The Sadi.* The actual wedding is divided into three parts, each occurring on a different day and the whole lasting three days. There is first the arrival of the *barat*—the party which brings the bridegroom and which reaches the girl's village on the evening of the first day. The next part occurs on the following night and is the wedding proper, the *sadi*; and finally the bridegroom departs for his own home on the third day and this is called the *bida* or farewell. 585

(a) *Barat.* A day or two after the parching of the *lawa* there are preparations at the bridegroom's house for the departure from thence for the house of the bride. The *barat* is usually so planned that it arrives at the girl's village just after dusk. The *barat* is made up entirely of men, and women are not permitted to accompany the procession. Before the *barat* can leave there is a feast given to its members by the women of the family. Following this the bridegroom is put into a *palki* or litter. The party also takes with it various things needed for the *sadi* including the *lawa*, a *barain* (small whitish-coloured earthenware pot decorated with yellow figures and in which are carried a *seer* of rice and, if in season, two mangoes), seven *dips* (earthenware lamps), and a *dahingar* (a decorated earthen pot like the *barain* in which *dahi*—curds—are kept). These things are carried by the party in baskets on their heads, but in the *palki* will be put the *sendur*, *kankan* (black and red beads strung on a thin iron wire), some toys and *gobar* (cowdung). Some one to beat the drum should accompany the party which leaves the boy's village amid music and singing. The women who remain behind are busy preparing for the return of the bridegroom and his party three days later. [562] [574] [493] [482] 585 574

The procession should not arrive in the village until night has fallen. Upon its arrival it does not at once enter the village, but stops some distance away and with drums and singing announces its presence. The girl's party which has been waiting the arrival of the *barat* is now summoned by her father. The women of the bride's party accompany the men in greeting the *barat* and the group proceeds to the edge of the village with lights, the person carrying the leading light being either the girl's sister or a female cousin. This light is carried on top of an earthen jar resting on the head in a manner similar to the way the light is carried at the *mangarmati* time. The men of the party bring a *chhattari*, or an umbrella made of bamboo branches and leaves from the *palasa* tree. Like the crown in Europe, the umbrella in village India is essentially a symbol of sovereignty. A *mashal*, or torch on the end of a pole is also brought and waved about in imitation of a battle. The men of the two parties now meet and greet one [354] [482] [293] [354]

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another. In more Hinduized communities they may set off fireworks at this time if they can afford them. The arrangement for these is made by a Basor. In the midst of this din the girl's father speaks to the boy's father and tells him that they are glad that they have come, that they will expect them to tarry for some days in their village, and that everything possible will be done for their comfort. As the best wedding months are usually dry and pleasant, the boy's party may be accommodated under a large tree. Wherever they are put, the place is called the *janmasa*. If there is an available house so much the better.

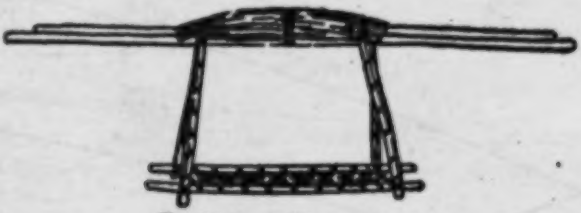

Fig. 22

On entering the village the two parties repair to the bride's house, led by the woman with the lamp on her head. Upon reaching the house the rice is taken out of the *barain*, pipes are passed around for a smoke, and even drinks may be offered. During this time the bridegroom has remained seated in his *palki* which is now brought close to the marriage booth. He reaches out and shakes the booth, to test, as it were, its strength and workmanship. The girl's mother comes to the *palki* and with the thumb and little finger of her right hand dabs a bit of vermilion on the forehead of her future son-in-law and then pours out the water which was in the *kalsa* with the light that brought them into the village. Members of each group should bring *gular* or *semal* twigs, as the case may be, which have been plastered with *gobar* and which have some *tikas* (dabs) of *sendur* on them. These are laid in the centre of the booth next to the *magrohan*. The *ghara* of *lawa* is taken by a member of the boy's group, who walks round the *palki* seven times with it. After the seventh round the boy's *maur* or wedding crown (made up usually, of peacock feathers, bamboo and palm leaves) is removed and the party retires to the place prepared for them, the *janmasa*.

Arriving at the *janmasa* they settle themselves and are again supplied with smokes by members of the bride's household. Pre-

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parations are then made for the bridegroom to eat *lahakaur*, the food prepared especially for the occasion. This may be of several types. It is sometimes said to consist of rice, pulse, *puris* and *bara*; and again of milk, rice and sugar. This is brought by a female member of the family, the *sarhaj* (bride's brother's wife) being preferred. Before the boy is asked to eat the *lahakaur* two women dressed in dancing garments make their appearance; they sing and dance and are accompanied by some men with their drums. This party advances towards the *janmasa* singing songs which contain many questionable allusions and are considered as *gali* (abuse). They carry the emptied *kalsa* with the lighted lamp still on top of it, and place it before the boy who is asked to go around it seven times and sit down. When he has done this the *sarhaj* tries to make him eat the *lahakaur*; she brings it up to his mouth five times in her right hand and after smelling it as many times he refuses to eat. She is paid four annas for this by the boy's father. There is more singing and the giving of *gali* by both sides. Finally the *sarhaj* brings a *lota* of water and washes the feet of the members of the boy's party and at the same time openly counts them so that they may know how many will need food. Much of this food has already been cooked but it is not served till midnight or later. In the meantime, during the meal, and even for the rest of the night, there are songs and the *dadra* dance.

About eleven o'clock the next morning the members of the bridegroom's party take their morning meal at the bride's house, but the groom stays by himself in the *janmasa* where his food is brought to him. When the others arrive their feet are washed as before and each member is given a *lota* of water so that he may wash his hands. The male members of the two parties always eat together first and the meal is usually served on leaf-plates, or, if they are available, brass ones. The men then go for a chat and rest and sometime later the women take their food. At no time do the men and women eat together.

(*b*) *Sadi*. The Actual Ceremony. The evening of the second day sees the performance of the marriage proper, the *sadi*. The premises of the girl's house are again plastered and all made clean and ready. The Brahmin priest who wrote the *lagan* is expected to arrive after nightfall. If the family should decide to dispense with his services the part of the priest may be taken by the *phupha* (father's sister's husband). The priest first marks out a square, called the *chauk*, on the plastered portion of the courtyard not far from the wedding booth, using whole wheat flour to mark the lines. A *kalsa* is then placed at its centre into which will be thrown the gifts for the

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585 (wedding crown) is removed. He then turns to his bride and takes off a portion of the *sari* covering her head and sees her features for the first time. She immediately covers her head again. This is [788] repeated seven times but after the seventh he does not again remove the covering, and it is said that henceforth her head is to remain covered to the day of her death if he outlives her, and to the day of his death if she becomes a widow. A *sari* cloth is now brought and is [554] wrapped about the boy and girl; in the seclusion of this the boy puts 386 some *sendur*, with the little finger of his right hand, on the girl's forehead indicating that she is now a married woman. The first three [926] fingers should on no account be used. The Brahmin now takes his leave, for his work is done, and he is paid a fee usually amounting to Rs. 1-4-0.

585 The boy soon comes out of the house and greets his friends and tells his party that it is time for them to retire to the *janmasa*. Before 574 they are allowed to depart, however, they are invited to a feast close to the *marhwa*. Their feet are again washed and a feast, as lavish as can be managed, is given them. At least the following should be [262 provided: rice, pulse, *bara*, *puris*, curds, spices and sweets. Some- 273] times there is drinking but the Kols are not much addicted to this. The bridegroom begins the feast by taking the first mouthful; then the others may start. Usually they eat seated in a circle on the ground and are entertained at the time by singing and dancing. The bridegroom is paid four annas for starting things off and the rest of the night is spent in this manner.

(*c*) *Bida* (or *bidai*): The Return of the Bridegroom to his House. The returning party leaves the girl's village on the third day. About noon on that day there is another feast, the final one, which is only for [607] the members of the departing company, except that the bridegroom's [606] *sar* (brother-in-law) also eats with them. The groom refuses to eat until his mother-in-law promises him a gift such as a goat or a cow. The bridegroom is also presented with the gifts which were made to the couple and these are handed over to his *swasa* to keep for him. The men of both parties embrace and put a *tika* of *sendur* on one another, each man waving a pice over the head of another and then presenting it to him. *Ilachi* (cardamom), *pan* and *supari* are distributed.

585 The women now appear in a group and the mother-in-law puts lamp black under the eyes of the boy's father and also sprinkles a bit of *haldi* water over him. The other women do the same to the remaining members of the bridegroom's party. A bit of lac on a string is sometimes tied about their necks. The boy's father drops a rupee into

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585 follow the *sadi*, but more often a period of several years separates the two. The girl should be between ten and twelve and the boy between [582] twelve and fifteen before the *gauna* ceremony can be performed. The exact time depends upon the *pandit* and upon auspicious days and seasons.

When the time for the *gauna* has come a large party carrying the bridegroom in a *palki* leaves the boy's home much in the same manner as they departed for the *sadi*. The boy's party is once more welcomed but the ceremony is not quite so elaborate as it was before. On the second night the Brahmin may be called in, though not always, and the remaining two circumambulations (*bhanwars*) of the fire are made. This time, however, there is no *marhwa* nor *magrohan*. The place where the final ceremony is performed is simply plastered and [237] in the centre of the spot is set up a low mound made of cow dung; beside it is placed a *kachha kalsa* (an earthen pot not yet fired), on top of which is a brass plate containing (1) a *dip* burning with *ghi*, (2) *sendur* paste, and (3) a whole cocoanut. The couple are tied together as before and go round the fire twice, thus completing the seven rounds [574] in all. This makes the marriage *pakka* and the final ceremony is [533] followed by feasting, singing and dancing which last the rest of the [535] night.

Sometime during the next day the couple depart for the boy's home. They are tied together and seat themselves in the same *palki* which the bearers carry a few yards and then set down while the knot is untied and the bridegroom gets out leaving the *palki* for the bride. He either gets into another one or joins the party on foot. Just before this party, which now consists of the group that went with him, reinforced by men from the girl's home, arrives at the boy's house the *palki* is set down, the boy again gets into it, and the knot is once more tied. *Haldi* water is sprinkled over them and pice are waved over the bearers who are again presented with the coins. Upon arriving at the house the couple find a new cloth five yards long and a yard wide spread on the ground leading from the path to the door of the groom's house and at one end of this the *palki* is put down. As the bride is about to get out she is presented with a tray of balls made of water and whole wheat flour. At each step she must deposit one on the cloth at her feet. Her husband follows, for he is still tied to her and as he comes he must pick up the balls and put them into a small *thali* (tray). Inside the house the knot is untied for the last time. [262] From the *palki* the women bring a seer or two of uncooked rice along with a few other supplies including pulse, which the bride had brought with her in order that she might prepare a dish known as *khichri*, a

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to perform the *bhanwar* (circumambulation) seven times about a silver or a gold ring fastened to a *nagrohan* stick smeared with *sendur*. This marries him to the ring. Immediately after this procedure he should be anointed with sweet oil mixed with *haldi*—a sign that the "wife" has died and that he is now a widower. He may then put black glass bangles on the widow, and after giving a feast as directed by the *panch* he may take the widow into his home without shame and as if with the permission of the community. Roy has noted a similar custom, only that the bachelor is married to a brass *lota* or a flower.[1] He however, says nothing of the bachelor being made a widower.

This type of marriage is very unusual, the more common type of widow marriage being between a real widower and a widow. It may be said in passing that a Kol widower may marry a virgin, and that if this is done the regular form of marriage is resorted to in full.

When a Kol widower wishes to marry a certain widow he should first take the matter up with his *panch*. They look into the matter of relationships and the like, and deal with it on its merits. If it is agreed upon, some one from the *panch* is commissioned to go to the place where the widow is living (probably with her relatives), and through her female relatives make enquiry to see if she would welcome this match. If she is willing and her *panch* has no objection, the way is clear. The widower is told by the *panch* what he will have to do by way of a feast, and this he must do before he is allowed to proceed further. A *barat* is made up and the widower and his party go to the village of the widow where they stay for three days and go through the general procedure as in the case of the regular marriage, without, however, building a *marhwa* or the like, and the general festivities are limited to dancing, singing and eating. The widower must bear all the expenses, none being borne by the widow or her relatives. On the third day the *panch* of her village is called together and certain questions are asked as to their intentions. Upon satisfactory answers they are made to sit together and often they are anointed with oil and vermilion is put on their foreheads. The man is asked to put five black glass bangles on each wrist of the widow and they are considered married. The party leaves soon after this and there is no ceremony that would correspond to the *gauna* nor *raman*. They go to the man's village where they must feed the community before they are considered to be in good standing.

MARRIAGE COSTS. The cost of a Kol wedding is a great financial strain on the parties. Both groups have to pay a part of the costs.

1 Roy, S. C., *Oraon Religion and Customs*, p. 170.

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CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL UNIT: THE FAMILY

THE KOL FAMILY. The basis of Kol society is found in the family. This family is patrilinear and patrilocal, with a recognition of the bilateral kinship group because important social relations are observed with the kin on both sides. Nevertheless the household usually contains only dependent members from the father's side, but there are no taboos for the other side of the family and visiting is allowed back and forth freely and without hindrance. No trace was found of a rupture in the parent-in-law relationship and no restrictions either in talking or associating were traced. In all, however, the family stands out as a distinct unit separate from the wider life of the community.

In a typical Kol family under the one roof will usually be found the husband, the wife (or wives), unmarried children, and occasionally some dependent member or members of the father's family, such as a widowed grandparent. Soon after marriage the Kol son usually sets up a home for himself. In the more primitive sections it is unusual to find a married son and his wife living with his parents. In the more Hinduized communities, where the Kols are better off and can afford more elaborate houses, married sons and their wives were frequently found living with the boy's parents. In one such home in Barela, for example, there were two married sons and their wives living with the boys' parents. This seems though to be an imitation of the Hindu family system, rather than a true Kol institution. The older dependents are found in the house only if their own homes are broken up by death. One occasionally finds an old couple living together in a little hut, and when one or the other dies the surviving member goes to live in a son's or another relative's house. In one centre, however, four such persons were found, each living alone in a little hut. They were either not wanted or had no relatives with whom they could reside.

In Barela and Kharara Ghat a survey was made of the number of people in each home or sheltered under one roof. The average number of people per house, excluding four houses where there was one each who was somehow *persona non grata* with relatives, was 3.9. In Kharara Ghat the average came to 4.8 persons per house. The 1931 Central Provinces Census Report reveals that primitive tribes average 3.8 children per family. The distribution of people was as follows:

[p. 101]

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4. In some things the men take the leading part, but the women assist in certain occupations, such as: 462

Grazing cattle.
Purchasing supplies in the bazaar.
Watching crops by day.
Cutting wood for the house.
Construction of houses.
Milking of cows and goats.

5. There are some things that are absolutely taboo to the women such as:

Ploughing.
Getting up on a roof.

6. There is one thing that a man should never do: wash the clothes of a woman. [296]

7. There are a number of things neither a man nor a woman does, some of them have been listed and others have not. These tasks are the particular work of certain castes and occupational groups, and Kols leave such work to them. [564]

Among Kols working in industrial centres the wife and husband often work side by side at the same task, such as digging stone, carrying baskets of stone for the lime kiln, and the like.

GUESTS AND HOSPITALITY. On account of the smallness of Kol houses it is not possible for Kols to do much in the way of entertaining. Nevertheless hospitality is extended as far as is possible under the circumstances. A visiting relative is given a place within the family. On his arrival, he is met by the men of the house and greeted. The salutation takes the form of an embrace. The two put the arms around each other and touch first the left shoulder to the left shoulder, then the right to right. The next thing is to touch each others' knees, first the left, then the right, both hands generally being used. The final part is the grasping of the right hand.[1] Provision is made for the relative so that he or she may sleep comfortably during the night. This often entails hardship on the members of the family particularly if the house is crowded. A relative takes food with the other members of the family: men sitting with men and women with women. If the visitor should be a friend but not a relative, it is usual for him to be given a place to sleep, but he does not take his food with the family. He is expected to cook his own food, although the materials for the same are supplied free to him by the family with whom he is stopping. 574 602 [576] [264] [252]

1 See plate XII.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

574 There is no claim of hospitality by a Kol on another Kol if he is unknown to the latter. Even though he be of the same *kurhi* and knows relatives of the persons in the family and is in need of hospitality, he can expect none; any kindness shown him is an act of mercy. For this reason it is unusual for a Kol to ask hospitality at the hands of strangers. He asks for hospitality and shelter for the night only where he is known.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE. The average Kol does not own 421 a great deal of property, but like most people he is interested in acquiring goods. Even marriage is commonly looked upon as the acquiring of a piece of property in the person of the wife. Almost nowhere are Kols 423 found to own land in the full sense of the term. Even the land upon [427] which their houses and rude huts are built is rented, the usual rent being one rupee a year. This is paid to the *malguzar* who does not disturb them further if the payments are regular. Away from the larger towns where land so often lies waste, it is usually found that no charges are made whatsoever.

The personal property held by Kols includes clothes, cooking 422 utensils, tools and a few ornaments if there is money to buy such. Animals are also considered their own property. Apart from the clothes a person wears, the rest of the goods held by the Kols are con- [425 sidered as held by the family as a unit, and the head of the family can 593] sell or exchange only after consultation with the others. Upon the approach of his death the head of the family is expected to make a 763 statement concerning the disposition and division of the property. 428 However if he should suddenly die without making such provision, it does not follow that the elder son, or next in line, inherits the rights of the father concerning the disposition of the goods, and any division or exchange must be decided upon by the family as a whole with the help of someone from the *panch*. While it appears that any member of 421 the family might purchase any article required, either for themselves or 425 for the family, yet after purchase the article becomes the property of the family as a whole, and the purchaser has no right to resell or dispose of it without permission of the head of the family in consultation with the other members.

428 Upon the break-up of the family by death the sons are generally 763 supposed to have equal rights to the property. If, prior to his death, the deceased requested that the elder son should get the larger share, this is accepted. No distinction is said to be made between the children of the "married" wife and the "kept" woman if there are both in the family.

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796 787 The ninth day is the final day of the *Jawara* festival. The greenish-yellowish wheat can now be brought out and something foretold, in the case of the Fall festival, about the coming crop. If the wheat has grown nicely, in spite of the fact that it has been kept indoors, and in addition frequently covered by a basket, it is a sign that there will be a good crop of wheat. If the growth of the *jawara* is poor, the crop will likely be a poor one. The process appears to [789] have an element of magic in it and is used as a method to secure good crops; for the earth is first well manured and then well cared for and watered. Frazer in his series, "The Golden Bough", has found a similar ritual elsewhere which he calls "The Garden of Adonis."[1]

The growing wheat cannot be taken out before the late afternoon. When the time comes to take it out, some animals are sacrificed at the village shrine, there is singing and dancing and probably there will [482] be a *bawa* with Shardamai as the deity possessing the devotee. The procession is formed at the shrine, and the women carry the plants on their heads to the river or tank where the stalks are immersed. [789] The men folk follow a short distance behind and loudly beat their drums to frighten away any evil influences. The women sing songs [533] of the *bhagat* type and there may be some *bawas* as well, and the de- [785] votee has a trident stuck into his tongue or cheek. Upon reaching the place where the wheat will be "cooled", the women enter the water, and wash away the earth from the roots of the plants. The earthenware vessels are thrown away, and the stalks are retained. Most of [431] them, though not all, are brought back and distributed to friends as [627] a mark of goodwill. They receive from others as well as give. All enmities should be healed.

796 574 That evening there is a feast at the village shrine. The Kols gather by *kurhis* and the animals sacrificed are eaten along with other foods; there is more music and songs and perhaps some more *bawas*. Sometimes the animals are not sacrificed until the procession bringing the stalks of wheat, returns from the tank.

796 *Khajleniya*. This is another term for the Jawara festival and refers especially to the activities of the ninth day, and the part the women play in carrying the wheat stalks. It is therefore spoken of [857] by some Kols as a woman's festival. Along with it there are certain [533] activities for the children. Two sticks are set up to represent a man [535] and a woman, and they dance about the sticks and sing some marriage songs. There is also a test of balance, and a long bamboo pole is [526] placed on the ground, and the boys and girls try to see if they can

1. Frazer, J. G., *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I., p. 236 ff.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

walk from one end to the other. In the evening the big meal is enjoyed by all alike.

Khichri or *Khichhrihai* is a simple festival, apparently one of fellowship when one should invite some friend to a meal and eat rice and *dal* which was boiled together. It comes several times a year.[1]

Marpak is a festival in memory of the dead. It has its Hindu influences and only the male members of the family go to a river where there is a Hindu *nai* and priest. The *nai* shaves their heads and beards and they go to the *ghat* to bathe. After this they visit the Brahmin who is sitting by the edge of the water. A few annas are given to him and holding up some water cupped in his hands, he mutters the name of the dead and recites some sacred texts. For the next few days whenever taking a bath or washing clothes, the Kol should do likewise and offer water in the name of his deceased. A leaf plate is put out either on the roof of the house or in a niche in the wall in front of the veranda. See plate xx. In this foods such as *puris*, *bhat*, *dal* and *bara* are put.

Nagpanchami. This is the worship of the serpent as symbolized particularly by the Cobra or *Nag*. This festival occurs on the fifth day of *Sawan* (July-August). Its institution is aptly described by Underhill :[2]

"This day celebrates the return of Krishna from the Yamuna after having overcome the big river snake Kaliya. Krishna had fallen into the river from a tree overhanging the bank, into which he had climbed to fetch a ball which had lodged there while he was playing with the herds people. His return with the snake was received with joy, the herdsmen offering Kaliya milk in gratitude for his not having harmed their favourite, Krishna.....

Another legend says that a man, ignorant of the festival, while ploughing on this day killed a nest of young snakes. The mother snake, in revenge, in the night bit the man and all his family, except one married daughter living in another village. Having killed all but this daughter, the mother snake set out for that village to kill her also. But the girl, knowing of the festival, had put out a dish of appetising food, which the snake tasted, and which gratified her so much that she not only refrained from killing the girl, but gave her a healing lotion to sprinkle on the bodies of the parents and other children, whereby they were all restored to life. After this, the festival became general."

1. Elwin also finds this festival among the Baigas and thinks they took it from the Gonds. He calls it a children's festival. The children beg rice and cook it by the riverside. *The Baigas*, p. 63.
2. Underhill, M. M., *The Hindu Religious Year*, p. 122.

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796 825 Kols everywhere observe this festival. On the fourth day of *Sawan* or *Srawan* they should observe a fast which ends with a feast on the fifth day. On the morning of the fifth day Kols worship some symbol of *Nag* and put out saucers of milk near termite hills and other places where snakes have been seen or suspected. No digging or ploughing is done this day lest the snakes be disturbed or injured. [574] Sometimes the women do no grinding or cutting. In the evening there is a big feast of "*puris, sewai, bara,* milk and sugar."

796 [776] *Naodurgan.* Literally, "Nine Durgas." This refers to the *Jawara* festival noted above, and is especially connected with the one observed in the fall. Kols say it is observed in remembrance of the nine *devis.* Durga *devi* is the eldest and eight more accompany her. Hindus usually speak of this as *Naoratri* or Nine Nights.

Phag. This is the same as the *Holi* festival, which we have described.

Pusan. In Rewa it was said that this was held in the month of *Pus* (December-January). This may be a variation of the so called [574] *Khichri* festival, for at this time Kols say they worship no particular *devi,* but have a feast with some friends.

796 789 [161] *Rakhi.* "Protector." The full title of this festival is *Rakhibandhana,* "amulet tying." This ceremony is performed in the month of *Sawan* (July-August). This is probably the most unhealthful season of the year in the villages, a time when malaria is very common, and something must be done to ward off illness. A coloured cord decorated with tinsel is tied to the wrist; husbands should tie one on the wrists of the wife and the wife on the husband, sisters on the wrists of brothers and *vice versa.*

[177 773] This festival is based upon the Hindu legend from the *Bhavishyottara Purana* in which the story is told of the earth, men and gods being under the power and tyranny of the great King Bali, who, by his devotion to Siva, had gained enough merit and power to rule. Before Vishnu became incarnated as the Dwarf Vamana and subsequently conquered him, it was necessary to have some kind of protection from this demon. Vishnu gave Indrani, the wife of Indra, a coloured silken thread which was tied by her about Indra's wrists, and thus he secured protection from Bali.

796 177 *Ramnavami* is the birthday of Rama and comes on the ninth day of the month of *Chaita* (March-April). This coincides with the ninth day of the spring *Jawara* festival, and is the Hinduised term a Kol may use to describe the doings that night. See under *Jawara.*

796 789 184 *Sirwani.* This is another name for the *Rakhi* festival. *Sirwani*

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513 823 Kols generally say that they, unlike the Hindus, are not particular about the direction of their head when they sleep. Inside their own houses they can make their couch in any direction. When they sleep outside, however, they should lie with their heads to the east. And yet, further questionings have revealed, that most Kols have a definite prejudice against sleeping with the head to the north, [764] whether inside or outside the house. No doubt this is because the dead are placed in that position.

231 825 [673 681] [627 574] ANIMALS AND TREES. *Animals.* Among the Kols there is an exaggerated respect for the cow and it is said that she is the most sacred of all animals. To kill a cow is to commit a great sin, much worse even than killing a Brahmin. In the strictest sense it is murder, and anyone killing a cow even accidentally should make a pilgrimage to the Ganges and offer a gift to the river. On his return he is required to give a feast to the community. Kols as a rule are not rich in cattle and those they possess are a poor lot.

825 [773] The palm squirrel (*Sciurus palmarum*), is very commonly found in the villages and frequents the houses of people. Kols have a great respect for this creature and some would even rank it above the cow, for, one said, to kill such an animal was as bad as killing a hundred Brahmins! Popular legend has it that when Rama was building his bridge from India to Ceylon in order to rescue Sita, these squirrels helped him by bringing dust on their tails. Rama was pleased with this act of devotion and stroked the backs of the squirrels and to this [627 574] day the marks of his hands can be seen in the black strips on their backs. Any one who happens to kill a squirrel should give a feast. Boys will never shoot nor molest them.

231 825 [183] The cat is likewise revered by Kols and is usually called *mai*, mother. In the ordinary sense Kols do not keep nor care for cats; they are just a part of the village and roam it freely in search of food while no one claims particular ownership. Sometimes they multiply to an alarming extent and in one village it was discovered that no chickens could be raised due to the presence of the cats who killed and ate the younger chickens. No effort was made to change this condition nor rid the village of the cats. That would be a breach of custom.

[783] The dogs too are the general property of the village. To Indian villagers the dog is often an impure animal, but this is not true in the case of the Kols, for the touch of the dog is not defiling. He is a village watchman, and in a sense a custodian of their safety, as he gives the village warning should strangers approach. To slay him is to slay

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spirits or goddesses. It has been noted that the mango branch plays an important part in wedding functions. It was also noted that in building the wedding booth Kols ought to use, if possible, wood from the *saleh* tree (*Boswellia serrata*) both for the main supports of the *marhwa* and for the sacred pole, the *magrohan*. The consensus of opinion is that for the latter the *saleh* is absolutely indispensable. 824 [776] [585]

The *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) is found beside Kol shrines and in the courtyards of their houses. It should be watered daily and its leaves are said to have certain medicinal qualities, being especially effective in fevers. Tulasi was once a woman who engaged in religious austerities for a long time and at last dared to ask to become a wife of Vishnu. For this presumption Tulasi was cursed by Lakshmi the wife of Vishnu, and was turned into this plant. Vishnu comforted her by promising to be near her in the form of a *salagrama* stone. So they are often associated in worship and even in Kol shrines a *salagrama* stone is usually found close to the *tulasi* plant. The leaf is highly scented and a bit is often broken off by Kols and eaten with their food. During the evening hours it is worshipped by having a small *dip* lighted before it. [757] [773] [778] [263] [782]

Dead trees are generally feared as the death of a tree is most certainly due to an evil spirit's influence and a *churel* often kills a tree to make a residence for herself. [775]

MARRIAGE OF TREES. The Kols have a ceremony for the marriage of trees. The mango tree is the one usually married and this should be done at the time it first begins to bear fruit. Unless such a tree has been married no adult should eat of the fruit, although a child may do so. There are at least two methods of marrying trees, both of which require the Brahmin priest. In the first instance a mango tree should be married to a tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indicus*). This tree may be near at hand, or even some distance from the mango tree. The ceremony appears to consist in having a married couple wind a cotton thread coloured with *haldi* seven times around the tree. They should move about the tree in a clockwise direction and as they do this the Brahmin recites sacred texts. First the mango tree is wound then the tamarind; if they are close enough together the thread may be stretched from one to the other. It is not unusual to find a mango and a tamarind tree planted close by. Many of the features of the regular wedding are incorporated, and following the function there is a feast. 824 796 [574]

In the second instance a small wooden peg, variously coloured, takes the place of the tamarind tree. This may be made out of tama-